The Anti Islamic ORDINANCE

By Courtesy of International Herald Tribune

General Zia Usurper of Human Rights & Religious Freedom in Pakistan

THE ANTI-ISLAMIC ORDINANCE

PART ONE

A REVIEW OF WORLD PRESS COMMENTS ABOUT THE RECENTLY PROMULGATED ORDINANCE OF THE PAKISTAN MARTIAL LAW AUTHORITIES AGAINST THE AHMADIYYA MUSLIM COMMUNITY

Presented by
Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam
GHANA

Introduction

On the 26th April 1984, the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq promulgated an Ordinance not only to encroach upon the basic and fundamental human rights of the Ahmadi Muslims but also to restrict the 'Islamic' activities of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

The Ahmadi Muslims are rather baffled with the requirements of this Ordinance which so insidiously restricts them from the practice and profession of their faith 'Islam' in which they have been groomed since their birth.

General Zia-ul-Haq's government has pretended that the Ordinance was enacted in consequence of a popular demand by the public of Pakistan. Subsequent events have, however, proved that the Government was not under any such pressure, which it pretends was borne upon it.

With the exception of a few financially motivated 'mullas', the majority of politicians and fair minded leaders and members of the public have condemned the Ordinance and openly censured General Zia-ul-Haq's Government. Their protest is indicative of the fact that the whole episode is the orchestrated product of only a few 'mullahs' and the dictatorial military regime of the General. The public in general is not interested in the 'Qadiani' issue but is wary of this type of evasive tactics.

Since the public has reacted sharply against the 'UNISLAMIC ORDINANCE' promulgated by the military regime in Pakistan, the General, making full use of his dictatorial powers, imposed a ban upon political reporting in the media hoping to ride over the storm in the country. For the benefit of the public, however, we present a gist of several statements, comments and press reports issued by non-Ahmadiyya sources since the promulgation of the anti Ahmadiyya Ordinance by the authorities.

ORDINANCE No. XX
26th April, 1984
AN ORDINANCE

to ammend the law to prohibit the Quadiani group, Lahori group and Ahmadis from indulging in anti-Islamic activities.

Whereas it is expedient to amend the law to prohibit the Quadiani group, Lahori group and Ahmadis from indulging in anti-Islamic activities:

And whereas the President is satisfied that circumstances exist which render it necessary to take immediate action:

Now, therefore, in pursuance of the Proclamation of the fifth day of July, 1977, and in exercise of all powers enabling him in that behalf, the President is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance:-

PART I — PRELIMINARY

1. Short title and commencement — (1) This Ordinance may be called the Anti-Islamic activities of the Quadiani Group, Lahori Group and Ahmadis (Prohibition and Punishment) Ordinance, 1984.

(2) It shall come into force at once.

2. Ordinance to override orders or decisions of courts. — The provisions of this Ordinance shall have effect notwithstanding any order or decision of any court.

PART II — AMENDMENT OF THE PAKISTAN PENAL CODE (ACT XLV OF 1860)

3. Addition of new sections 298B and 298C, Act XLV of 1860. — In the Pakistan Penal Code (Act XLV of 1860), in Chapter XV, after section 298A, the following new sections shall be added, namely:-

"298B. **Misuse of epithets, descriptions and titles, etc., reserved for certain holy personages or places.** — (1) Any person of the Quadiani group or the Lahori group (who call themselves 'Ahmadis' or by any other name) who by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation, —

(a) refers to, or addresses, any person, other than Caliph or companion of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), as *'Ameer-ul-*

Mumineen', 'Khalifa-tul-Mumineen', 'Khalifa-tul-Muslimcen 'Sahaabi' or *'Razi Allah Anho':*

(b) refers to, or addresses, any person, other than a wife of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), as *'Ummul-Mumineen';*

(c) refers to, or addresses, any person, other than a member of the family *(Ahle-bait)* of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), as *Ahle-bait;* or

(d) refers to, or names, or calls, his place of worship as 'Masjid':

shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

(2) Any person of the Quadiani group or Lahori group (who call themselves 'Ahmadis' or by any other name) who by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation, refers to the mode or form of call to prayers followed by his faith as *'Azan'*, or recites *Azan* as used by the Muslims, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine.

298C. **Person of Quadiani group, etc., calling himself a Muslim or preaching or propagating his faith.** — Any person of the Quadiani group or the Lahori group (who call themselves 'Ahmadis' or by any other name) who, directly or indirectly, poses himself as a Muslim, or calls, or refers to his faith as Islam, or preaches or propagates his faith, or invites others to accept his faith, by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representations, or in any manner whatsoever outrages the religious feelings of Muslims, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine."

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THE MUSLIM: Islamabad, Pakistan

30th April, 1984

Keswar Gardezi: Secretary General, Pakistan National Party

Withdrawal of Anti-Qadiani Ordinance Urged

BUREAU REPORT

LAHORE, April 30: The defunct Pakistan National Party has appealed for **the withdrawal of the recent anti-Qadiani Ordinance "In the interests of the nation and in accordance with the Quaid-e-Azam's Declaration of August 11, 1947".**

Syed Muhammad Kaswar Gardezi, General Secretary of the party, in a statement issued here today said that the recently promulgated Ordinance on Qadianis was obviously the result of the process of ostracism over the last few years, "a process in clear violation of the Quaid-e-Azam's vision of a democratic Pakistan of free and equal citizens". The PNP he said had no function to dabble in a philosophical discussion on religious issues nor to pass any judgment on the common view of Qadiani beliefs and concepts. **However, the party considers it necessary to reiterate its view that the growing involvement of the State in religious matters and controversies could not serve the cause of a sane society based on the ideals of equity and justice.**

It was, therefore, necessary to arrest the drift towards intolerance and obscurantism and ensure that all citizens, whether they belonged to the majority or any of the numerous minorities, were guaranteed protection of life, property, employment and all basic freedoms.

The statement reiterated that the party stood by the **Quaid-e-Azam's fundamental declaration of August 11, 1947, that religion was a personal matter between man and God, the State had nothing to do with it, and that all citizens of the country were equal members of the Pakistani nation.**

The statement therefore appealed that in accordance with his declaration and in the **interest of the nation, the recent Ordinance should be withdrawn.**

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THE MUSLIM: Islamabad, Pakistan

3rd May, 1984

Aitzaz Decries Anti-Qadiani Ordinance

Aitzaz Ahsan: Leader of Tehrik-E-Istiqlal

Bureau Report

LAHORE, May 2: Mr. Aitzaz Ahsan, advocate, and a prominent leader of the

defunct Tehrik-e-Istiqlal has asked the Government **not to raise unnecessary issues causing confusion in the minds of the people.**

Talking to the Muslims here today, Aitzaz Ahsan said that the **martial law administration was raising several issues so as to cause confusion in the minds of the people thereby escaping from the more fundamental obligation of restoring democracy in the country.**

He expressed the view that promulgation of laws on religious affairs by the Government showed that it was going too far in interfering in the personal lives of the people. **"Every right thinking person feels that the Government has no concern with the private beliefs of citizens.** In fact promulgation of an Ordinance for Qadianis aims at diverting attention of the people from democracy **and the basic issue that martial law must be withdrawn and elections held in the country", he added.**

The Tehrik leader said it was essential that the Government realised that all matters must be resolved by a democratically-elected government of the people functioning under the 1973 Constitution, **and not to make laws in relation to matters which concerned the citizens' beliefs.** By raising and fanning sectarian issues, **the Government actually intended to deflect the democratic aspirations of the people and to sow discord, he concluded.**

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VIEWPOINT: Lahore, Pakistan
3rd May, 1984

State and Religion

Not for the first time in Pakistan's troubled history, it has been considered necessary for the State to interfere in religious matters that are in dispute between different communities or sects.

The new Presidential Ordinance, relating to what are described as the anti-Islamic activities of the Qadianis, is a follow-up of the 1974 constitutional amendment which laid down that because their beliefs run counter to the Muslims' abiding faith in the finality of the Prophethood of Hazrat Muhammed (peace be upon him) the Ahmedis of both sects, Qadianis and Lahoris, could not be accepted as Muslims and should, henceforth, be treated as a non-Muslim minority. It has now been decreed by amending the Penal Code that the **Ahmedis will, under pain of punishment, be barred, directly or indirectly, from referring to themselves as Muslims or calling their place of worship a mosque or using the Azan — the Muslim call to prayer — as their call for the same purpose.** Nor can the Ahmedis propagate by word of mouth or

writing or visible representation their religion with a view to converting others. They are also barred from using the nomenclature or appellations associated with the Holy Prophet or his family for a member of the Ahmedi community or anyone else.

On the last occasion, Government's action had followed an agitation on the matter by a group of ulema; presently, the official initiative was presumably meant to pre-empt such a campaign. **Even if such action is demanded or taken in the name of religion, and whether the motivations are religious or political or a combination of both, the measure should normally be subjected to rational discussion — preferably in a representative assembly — before any irrevocable decision is taken. Faced with a *fait accompli,* it becomes difficult to argue whether the action was really necessary and unavoidable even on the premises adumbrated by the law-maker, or whether it is in consonance with the Constitution or the UN Charter of Human Rights. It also needs to be considered whether such issues can finally be determined by law, as well as the possibility that the process may not stop at any one stage and even minor differences among religions and sects can lead us to dissension and strife.**

In accordance with the basic tenets of the Constitution and generally-accepted postulates of modern law, restrictions relating to religious practices or rituals are justifiable only on the ground that the activity prohibited tends to hurt the feelings of other citizens or may create inter-communal or inter-sect tensions that could disturb the peace of the land. Otherwise there can be no bar on any citizen believing or practising the religion of his choice. This fundamental principle is in complete accord with the views enunciated by the Quaid-e-Azam which not only form the foundation of a nation State but help to promote national unity and integrity. **Most people in Pakistan hold the view, therefore, that the State must, without any discrimination, act as protector of the rights of all citizens without regard to their creed or sect, and to guarantee equal rights to all in every secular matter as well as complete freedom to practise and follow their religion.** Thus, it would appear that the demands now being made by certain ulema for depriving all Ahmedi citizens of key Government positions or for organising a social boycott against them **are inappropriate and unjustified.** Particularly in view of the fact that the Ahmedis have accepted the restrictive law and have pledged themselves to abide by it, the majority community should exhibit the tolerance and magnanimity that are part of the best Islamic tradition. **This attitude is also necessary to inculcate a healthy nationalism that allows people of all persuasions to work together for the country's prosperity and stability.** It need hardly be stressed that the safety of all minorities — the protection of their lives, honour and property — **is a**

primary duty of the State and civilised society. Finally, the warning given recently by a well-known religious leader that pursuit of communal or sectarian quarrels can only cause confusion and weaken the national cause deserves to be heeded. And it should be remembered that the zealots among different sects can, if their activities are not checked by good sense, lead the people into one crisis after another to the nation's lasting detriment.

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DAILY NEWS: Karachi, Pakistan
Tuesday 8th May, 1984

ACTION CRITICISED

From Our Correspondent

QUETTA, May 8: Prominent Baluch leader Mr. Sher Muhammed Marri has said that **the government was not justified in taking actions against Qadianis.**

Talking to newsmen here, yesterday he said that **everybody should have the liberty of faith, since the religion says that every human being was responsible for his activities and actions in this world before Almighty.**

Mr. Sher Muhammed Marri said that **nobody should have the right to issue certificates that who is a Momin and who is a Kafir since only the Almighty has the knowledge of all such actions of an individual which other human beings can't detect.**

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"DAWN", Karachi, Pakistan
Thursday 3rd May, 1984

Keswar Gardezi: Secretary General, Pakistan National Party

Theocratisation of the State slated by PNP

Dawn Lahore Bureau

LAHORE, May 2: Mr Kaswar Gardezi, Secretary-General of the defunct PNP, has said that the recently promulgated ordinance on the Qadianis is obviously the result of the progressive theocratisation of the State over the last few years, a process in clear violation of the Quaid-i-Azam's vision of a democratic Pakistan of free and equal citizens.

In a Press statement issued here the other day, Mr. Gardezi said that the PNP had **no business to dabble in a philosophical discussion on religious issues, nor to pass judgement on the common view of Qadianis' beliefs and concepts.**

However, the party considered it necessary to reiterate its view that **the**

growing involvement of the State in religious matters and controversies could not serve the cause of a sane society based on the ideals of equity and justice.

"The PNP appeals that, **in accordance with this declaration and in the interest of the nation, the recent ordinance should be withdrawn."**

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DAILY NEWS: Karachi, Pakistan

9th May, 1984

Begum Nasim Wali Khan: Senior Vice President, National Democratic Party

Says Begum Wali: Government Wants To Sell Islam

From Our Correspondent

LAHORE, May 9: Defunct NDP leader Begum Nasim Wali Khan has charged that **the present government simply wants to sell Islam and its actions were resulting in creating hatred for Islam.**

Talking to newsmen at Lahore Press Club yesterday she said that division was being created in the name of Islam. **In Hasan Abdal the repairing of Gurdwaras was being done while the Qadianis are stopped from using the name of mosque.**

Begum Nasim Wali Khan said that on 11th August, 1947 the father of the nation Quaid-e-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah had declared henceforth in Pakistan nobody would be Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian but everybody will be a Pakistani and will enjoy equal rights.

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DAILY MUSLIM: Islamabad, Pakistan

10th May, 1984

Anwar Aziz Choudhry, Former Federal Minister and Leader of Pakistan People's Party

'Unjust restrictions for Qadianis'

BUREAU REPORT

LAHORE, May 9: M. Anwar Aziz Choudhry, former Federal Minister and a prominent leader of PPP in a statement has said **that Qadianis as a minority deserve "that kind of protection, love and understanding which we extend to other minorities in Pakistan."**

He said that the **Martial Law authorities had handled them with anger and hate and had imposed upon them legal restrictions which are a violation of the great humanism of Islam.** Their places of prayers were now under legal ambit. He said that **religious spite had always proved the most destructive element in a society.** He urged that Islam had been the most kindly disposed religion toward other believers declaring that there should be **no coercion in the matter of religion and the new Martial Law is an open contradiction of this greatly valued system of Islam.**

Ch. Anwar Aziz said that our religious leaders should adopt a realistic attitude. He said that if India were to make similar laws about Muslims how would "our Ulema feel about them" and what would they be able to do for the Indian Muslims.

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THE PIONEER: Kumasi, Ghana
17th August, 1984

Pakistan

Members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Pakistan are being down-graded or dismissed from their jobs as part of the second phase of the Ordinance on the pretence of indulging in "anti-Islamic" activities passed by President Zia in May, this year.

The Ordinance bars Ahmadis to use Islamic terminology. All four provinces have decided to either dismiss or downgrade Ahmadi employees holding senior posts. The number of such employees runs into thousands.

An Ahmadi airman has been dismissed in Faislabad on the grounds that a couple of years ago, when he enlisted, he described his religion as "Islam".

Another Ahmadi Pakistan Television employee has been transferred to a junior post simply because he was an Ahmadi.

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VIEWPOINT: Lahore, Pakistan

10th May, 1984

Ayaz Amir, An Independent Observer

A Bedevilled Legacy

The wall of silence that has greeted the anti-Qadiani Ordinance has been complete, except for a few breaches here and there. The Pakistan National Party has deprecated the increasing intrusion of religion and fanaticism into everyday life, and voices of dissent have been raised by Aitzaz Ahsan and Nasim Wali Khan, but that is about all. **Once intolerance in a traditional society is in full flood, few things can stand in its way.**

The merits of the latest decree are besides the point. The Qadianis the Ahmedis and the Lahoris may deserve sulphur and brimstone for their heresy in the hereafter but that is for **God to judge in Heaven not for the conclaves like the one that assembled recently in Raja Bazar, Rawalpindi. A more hardened crowd could scarcely have been assembled nor more pointless oratory heard anywhere else. It is said that the followers of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale are a fearsome lot. I can bet anything that many of my friends here would compare favourably with the best of them.**

More serious problems

The Ahmedis are the Jews of modern-day Islam, reviled and abused by the professional agitator. But I think the man in the street would leave them alone if the pontiffs of the faith would only let him. We face far more serious problems of bread and butter, sustenance and survival, to devote our best energies to combating dragons of our own invention, but that is the way the Mullah wants it. **Keeping religious passions perpetually on the boil serves his best interest. That is also sometimes the way societies that have lost their sense of direction function.**

People normally passive are roused into action when they hear that the hated Americans have seized the Kaaba. No matter that it is only an unsubstantiated rumour. Assembling in the thousands, they converge on the American Embassy and set fire to it. Does that affect our relations with the Americans? Only momentarily. Common interests on the north-west frontier soon bring Islamabad and Washington closer than ever before.

The followers of Ali, usually as supine as anybody else, rising briefly against the decree on Zakat and ushr set siege to the rising blocks of the Secretariat which are the very heart of the Central Government. The regime concedes a bit of ground and the crowds go back to their 'imambaras'. Does the episode make

them question the basic tenets of the dispensation which gave rise to their disaffection in the first place? Not at all. Many Shia divines accept places in the Majlis-i-Shoora while others sink back into their normal state of dumb acceptance.

Word sent forth

The Sunnis who constitute the vast majority, the Sawad-i-Azam, feel left out. **What better way to get a piece of the action than to exploit an ever-handy issue?** How can Islam prosper so long as the cancer eating into its vitals is not isolated and cut with the sharp knife of the true faith? So the word is sent forth that the places of worship where this cancer flourishes must be set alight and razed to the ground. The growl of hundreds of voices is heard throughout the Punjab.

The regime had staked religion as its special ground. A challenge on its own turf would threaten the central article of its legitimacy. It, therefore, concedes all the major demands of the Majlis-i-Amal, Tehrik-i-Tahafuzz-i-Khatm-i-Nabuwwat. On pain of imprisonment and fine, no Ahmedi, Qadiani or Lahori will henceforth call himself a Muslim or cause his place of worship to be called a mosque. Nor, on pain of chastisement, will he henceforth preach or propagate his faith. The regime succeeds in its purpose. The people disperse, the crusade is averted, but not before it has delivered another blow at the Quaid's concept of society.

The Pakistan National Party may raise a forlorn cry in defence of the secular creed, but it is fighting a losing battle. The ulema have succeeded in confounding the meaning of secularism with apostasy. **The regime has succeeded in depoliticising society. In this atmosphere, it is only natural that political advance should be replaced by dogmatic regression.** Outbreaks such as the one we have just witnessed become not the exception but the rule.

Hard to roll back

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan may be right when he says that **the regime has outlived its natural span,** but that is no great consolation for its successor which will have to grapple with a bedevilled legacy. **Once fanaticism is let loose it is difficult to roll it back.** When the first Constituent Assembly began to meddle with the Quaid's vision of a secular Pakistan, and passed the Objectives Resolution in 1949, it could scarcely have realised the long-term consequences of its action. Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan coined the phrase the 'ideology of Pakistan' to serve the narrow interest of the Yahya regime. That regime has gone but the phrase remains to torment specialists and laymen alike. **Mr. Bhutto thought he could ride the tiger of untamed religion in 1974 when he**

amended the Constitution to declare the Qadianis as non-Muslims. But the tiger was appeased only for a while. It had tasted blood and was to be tamed by no one. Playing to the religious gallery came to a head in the summer of 1977. Much the same with the latest decree. Sooner or later, its framers will depart from the scene but their handiwork which crowns are already imposing edifice of intolerance and hate will remain. Dismantling this edifice later will not be easy.

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PUTNEY CHRONICLE: London
11th May, 1984

David Mellor: British Parliamentarian
Conservative M.P. for Putney

The London Mosque is the second oldest mosque in the country, and was founded in 1927. It is the British headquarters of the Ahmadiyya movement, a branch of Islam. I have said before in these columns that I have many friends at the mosque. Successive Imams have been very kind to me, and a number of the leading figures in the mosque are, and will always hopefully continue to be close friends and associates.

Hence my distress this week to learn that the movement is under threat in its home base in Pakistan. I am fond of the movement because it seems to me to have such a high number of interesting lively professional people involved. **Much more friendly and outgoing too than many religious groups.** But the Ahmadiyyas have a problem. They are regarded as heretics by the main branch of Islam.

Like any minority they are always at risk from instability in a country where they operate and of course the Government of General Zia in Pakistan is not the most secure or stable. So although Ahmadis amount to some 2-3 million in Pakistan's population — a sizable minority — a law has now been promulgated in Pakistan removing Ahmadis' rights to follow their own religion and depriving those employed by the state from jobs like teaching etc. of their livelihoods. **In other words a wicked attack on their civil rights.** And it threatens to get worse. News is already coming in that some mosques have been destroyed in Pakistan, and violence is never far away when a minority is identified in this way and exposed to unreasoning attack (by law).

I am doing what I can to help. I have already spoken to one or two of my contacts in the national press in the hope that they will take up the case as another **sad example of the spread of Islamic fundamentalism and intolerance.**

I am also contacting the Foreign Office to see whether representations can be made. I certainly hope so.

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THE PIONEER: Kumasi, Ghana

Wednesday 23rd May, 1984

Editorial **The Last Kicks of a Dying Horse**

TO PEOPLE STANDING OUTSIDE, ONE THING ENORMOUSLY WRONG WITH MUSLIMS IS THEIR INABILITY TO ACCOMMODATE OPPOSING VIEWS.

It is a pity that those human beings in the Muslim garb cannot often use reason to know that no two persons are alike and therefore which way you go, there is bound to be opposition. That even explains why Islam has 73 different sects — all preaching different sermons.

It is indeed a fact of life that even animals who live on instinct do not 'think' alike.

Far away in Pakistan, a country **supposed to be an Islamic country, a most oppressive law has been promulgated** by President Zia Ul-Haq, banning followers of the Ahmadiyya Movement from practising their faith (see story on Page One).

According to the law, a punishment of three years imprisonment awaits anybody who by words, either spoken or written or by visible representation, refers to the successors or companions of Mirza Ghullam Ahmad (founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement) as 'Ameer ul Momineen' or calls his place of worship as 'masjid' (mosque).

The same penalty awaits any Ahmadi who directly or indirectly poses himself as a Muslim or refers to his faith as Islam or preaches or propagates his faith or invites others to accept his faith or in any manner whatsoever outrages the religious feelings of Muslims.

The law came into effect on April 27 this year, and already key leaders of the Ahmadiyya Movement which incidentally has its headquarters in Pakistan have been murdered, and their mosques either burnt or desecrated.

ALL MEN OF GOOD WILL SHOULD CONDEMN STRONGLY THIS LAST MOVE OF PRESIDENT ZIA TO PERPETUATE HIMSELF IN PAKISTAN.

Like Maulvi Wahab Adam, Head of the Ahmadi faith in Ghana, said at a news conference in Accra last week, **it is a mockery of Islam for a country which claims to have been founded on the ideology of Islam and which refers to itself**

as an Islamic state to promulgate a law banning the religious freedom of a minority Muslim community.

It is most unthinkable for this terrible and barbaric law to be promulgated by a Muslim president in a Muslim country against a Muslim community.

President Zia's law is a cheap and mean attempt to use religion to win political favour at a time he sees an end to his rule.

There is enough evidence that Pakistan's economy is sliding down. And a desperate President Zia, wanting favour to balance the scales, has fallen on religious sentimentality to win the support of the majority of Muslims in Pakistan to prop up his dying government.

President Ali Bhutto did the same thing in 1974, persecuting the Ahmadis to win support. In the end, his government did not only fall, he was hanged ignominously for his misdeeds.

President Zia who hanged Ali Bhutto should take a cue from his predecessor and learn to behave like a President living in a civilised world.

To us of this paper, it is most ironical for a country which is a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to slam doors shut on freedom of worship.

Article 18 of the UN Human Rights Charter stipulates that: 'everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or in private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Even the Muslim Holy Book, the Koran, states categorically that "there should be no compulsion in religion". The world is now one big village, what happens at one end has repercussions at the other side.

The Ahmadiyya Movement, the most active Muslim community in the world in the field of practice and propagation of Islam, has hospitals and schools all over the world, including Ghana. **If the headquarters of this Movement ceases to exist, who is going to support the other branches rendering humanitarian services to the people of the world.**

We of this paper, therefore join in the call to the United Nations and all peoples of the world to condemn in the strongest terms the new law passed in Pakistan and ask President Zia to repeal them forthwith and guarantee to every citizen of Pakistan his unalienable right to profess, practise and propagate his religion as enshrined in the UN Charter of Human Rights.

THE WORLD CANNOT FOLD ITS ARMS AND WINK AT THE EVIL EMPIRE THAT PRESIDENT ZIA WANTS TO ESTABLISH IN PAKISTAN.

THE MUSLIM: Islamabad, Pakistan
24th May, 1984

A. Jamal, Peshawar City

Too Harsh on Qadianis?

THE RECENT MEASURES against the Qadianis have raised a number of questions in my mind as a simple Muslim not very well read in Islamic scholastics.

We were taught that **anybody saying the Kalima enters the fold of Islam. We were told that people believing in Allah, Malaika, the Holy books, the prophets, the measurements of Khair and Shar by God and the Day of Judgement are Muslims.** We were taught a Hadith attributing to the Prophet of Allah (PBUH) the saying that **"Whoever said our prayers and faced towards our Qibla and ate our Zabiha is a Muslim and for him is the guarantee of Allah and his Prophet".** If all these things are true then the question arises: **Do the Qadianis believe in and practise these injunctions?**

The Holy Quran is replete with caution and warning against 'munafiqin' (the hypocrites). Allah has termed them "Kafirs" but apart from Abdullah Bin Ubbaye no mention has been made of any other munafiq. And it is a historical fact that the Prophet said the Janaza prayers of the same Abdullah Bin Ubbaye. **We can therefore safely conclude from the conduct of the Holy Prophet that no one (including the Holy Prophet) can term a person as a munafiq so long as he calls himself a Muslim. Here then the question is whether the Qadianis call themselves Muslims or not.** If they claim to be Muslims which they do, who can term them otherwise?

The anti-Qadiani Ordinance prohibits the use of the word "masjid" for the places used by them for their prayers. The pre-Islam Arabs used the same word for their temples and it is not a purely Islamic term. Even the idolators of Mecca were not disallowed to offer the pilgrimage of the greatest mosque (Masjid-e-haram) unless it was forbidden by Allah (vide Sura Tauba). The idolators did not have the same "Arkan" of Haj as were ordained by God but even then they were at liberty to perform Haj in the way they liked, until it was forbidden by a Quranic decree. **Is there then any Quranic decree in the case of the Qadianis?** When the Qadianis say the same words in the same way as we do, how can they be treated as Jews, Christians or Hindus, who have different systems of prayers?

Incidentally, the Sikhs in our tribal Territory, particularly in Tirah, call their temples "Jamat", which is the Pashto word for "masjid".

It is reported that the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) allowed the Christians of

Najran, when they visited Medina, to offer their prayers in Masjid-i-Nabvi. **Cannot we show this tolerance to the Qadianis particularly when they do not insist on saying their prayers in our mosques?**

The same can be said about the curb on 'Azan' in the case of Qadianis. If the Qadianis say the same 'Azan' as we do, why should they not be allowed to imitate us?

Someone should throw light on the relevant facts to make our minds clear on these matters. It is ironical that people who die as Muslims in India, can't live as Muslims in Pakistan. — A. JAMAL, Peshawar City.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

U.S. is Standing too Close to Zia

By Stuart Schaar

New York — The United States is shoring up a special relationship with an increasingly unpopular military regime in Pakistan. This is a sadly short-sighted policy. The alliance with Pakistan may in the near term seem to enhance the U.S. Position in the Indian Ocean, but General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, who rules by martial law, is becoming more repressive and isolated as internal challenges mount, raising the spectre of an eventual uprising to overthrow him.

Until General Zia's coup in 1977, Pakistan's relatively independent judiciary mediated against transgressions of state power. In March 1981, 19 supreme court and provincial high court judges refused to endorse an order allowing General Zia to amend the constitution and effectively abolish the rule of law. His response was to dismiss these and a number of other judges, pack the high courts, and then promulgate the order and outlaw all political parties.

Resistance to the regime intensified last fall. About 140 protesters were killed and 6,000 arrested as the dictator moved to suppress a nonviolent civil disobedience movement. The country was relatively quiet until spring, when students boycotted classes to protest the banning of their unions and then the arrest of about 100 demonstrating students. A coalition called the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy has demanded free elections and an end to military rule. General Zia countered with a proposal for "nonparty," state-controlled elections.

Dissent is also growing in the armed forces. About 350 dissident officers were interrogated in January in connection with a plot to kill General Zia. The fate

of 40 arrested officers remains unknown. The high command has been reshuffled; the most important posts went to the general's friends and relatives.

Like his neighbour, President Indira Ghandhi of India, General Zia is taking steps against his country's religious minorities. Four million Ahmadis, adherents of a Moslem sect founded in the 19th century, are being prohibited from practising their religion publicly. Statements by fundamentalist Islamic leaders close to the government indicate that the small Pakistani Christian community may also be subject to persecution.

Human rights violations have increased markedly as the regime cracks down on growing dissent. One of the victims is Raza Kazim, an internationally renowned lawyer and eloquent advocate of representative government. On Jan 9, he was forcibly taken from his home in Lahore by armed men in military vehicles. The government has neither charged him nor responded to a writ of habeas corpus. His family was allowed to see him in early spring, but visits have been discontinued. His health has seriously deteriorated, but the government has ignored Amnesty International's request that he be examined by a private physician.

In its haste to defend the Zia regime, Washington defended the arrest, claiming that Mr. Kazim was smuggling guns, hashish and precious stones. Ironically, not even the Pakistani government has supported these charges. The Lawyer's Committee for International Human Rights and Mr. Kazim's son have informed the Reagan administration that it is confusing the distinguished attorney with a common criminal, Rana Kazmi.

There is no indication that policy makers in Washington fully understand the implications of their alliance with General Zia's regime. Its callous disregard of human rights can only increase internal opposition. Political parties, women's groups, student unions, landlord and peasant organizations, religious sects and the military have all challenged the regime's legitimacy. Pakistan has a 1,500-mile (2,400-kilometer) border with India, and it shares frontiers with Afghanistan, China, Iran and the Soviet Union. The country's 88 million inhabitants have a long insurrectionary tradition. An uprising would be difficult to contain.

What should the United States do? The administration has proposed $3.2 billion in aid, half of it military assistance. A recent Senate staff report recommends that Congress tie this aid to Pakistan's cessation of nuclear weapons development. Although this is a worthy concern, it has tended to divert attention from the deteriorating political situation. Much more important would be congressional action to link aid to Pakistan's human rights record.

The writer is an associate professor of Middle East history at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

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VIEWPOINT: Lahore, Pakistan

3rd May 1984

A Reception, An Ordinance

Husain Naqi

The most enjoyable civic reception in recent times was the one held in honour of Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia.

The visit was followed by the promulgation of an Ordinance. **The event has been played up beyond all proportion. "One More Promise Fulfilled" "Another Leap Forward on the Road to Islamisation", scream the headlines.**

In the post-independence era, the **anti-Qadiani sentiment has been exploited more than once by communal elements who lay low only while Quaid-i-Azam was alive.** Almost immediately after his death, they stoked the flames of frenzy, leading to the city of Lahore getting a test-dose of Martial Law. Before that, many Pakistani citizens lost their lives and belongings. **The whole drama was preserved in the inquiry commission report written by the (late) Justices M.R. Kayani and M. Munir.**

Amendment

Again, those waiting to subvert the agreed and unanimous Constitution of 1973 raised the issue soon after the enactment of the basic law of the land. The previous Government was **obliged to amend** the new Constitution declaring the Qadianis a non-Muslim minority. The issue subsided only for a while. **The ulema gathered together once again this year and started making fresh demands. A patently sectarian issue was allowed to be publicised till a couple of incidents took place, including a fatal one, and another in which two places of worship of this non-Muslim minority were set ablaze. This had no precedent.**

After the seminar

A lot of propaganda is being carried out regarding the Qadianis. Some of it may, perhaps, be true, but are we **to believe that an entire community is constituted of fifth columnists? Imagine lakhs organised 'subversive elements".**

Patronised communalism

Officially patronised communalism and sectarianism is bound to have disastrous consequences for an already dismembered nation and the vested interests would do well, in their own long-term interests, to put a stop to it.

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Zahoor Butt: Chairman, Tehrik-I-Istiqlal Party
Great Britain

TEHRIK-I-ISTIQLAL

GREAT BRITAIN

PRESS STATEMENT

ZAHOOR BUTT — CHAIRMAN

The Pakistan Presidential Ordinance of 26th April, 1984, prohibiting Ahmadi Muslims to declare themselves as Muslims; to say Azan (call for prayers); and to use Islamic terminologies, **is one more example of illegal and autocratic rule under which Pakistan is languishing for the past seven years.**

The issue involved is purely a religious one, and it would seem proper that all the thinkers and divines of the Muslim world should get together along with the Ahmadi representatives to thrash out this issue in a civilised manner adequately and permanently.

One may ask therefore why this issue has been raised once again at this critical juncture, and so near the proposed elections? After all, we were given to understand that the Second Amendment of 1974 to the 1973 Constitution was the final solution of this 90 year's old issue. **It would seem that because General Zia is under pressure to hold elections, and the Mullas having seen his weakness, now want to share in the loot, and register their right and power.** Gen. Zia has inadvertantly succumed to their pressure, just like Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. But where is Bhutto today? Did these Maulvis, who applauded him then for passing the Second Amendment (declaring Ahmadis as 'Not Muslim'), spare him? No. Will they spare Gen. Zia? Of course not. But why the political leaders should share the blame for Gen. Zia's crime?

Will Shia's be the next on their hit list? Because, unlike Ahmadis or Sunnis, Shia's Kalima and Azan is different, and they call their mosques as Imam Baras? Or Agha Khani Ismailis whose creed, views and practices are totally

different from other Muslims? Or American Muslims, who believe in Elijah Muhammad as their living Prophet? Incidentally, world boxing champion Muhammad Ali is Elijah's follower. And there are many other sects similarly prone to such discrimination.

I thus urge our compatriots to think carefully. **No one has any right to decide how others should practise their faith, which is a matter between God and the individual. Islam declares: No compulsion in Islam. I therefore abhor this ordinance and demand its immediate withdrawal. It is totally wrong to exploit people in politics in the name of ideology, whether the ideology is presented in the holy name of religion, or in the shape of extreme tendencies belonging to the Right Wing or Left Wing. Istiqlal Party does not intend to brook any nonsense in politics, and we stand clear of this most detestable, in-human, un-civilized and un-Islamic Ordinance.**

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SOUTH WESTERN STAR: London
13th July, 1984

Praying For Relatives' Lives

Two weeks ago we highlighted a plea by a group of Wandsworth schoolchildren to the Queen, to help their relatives in Pakistan.

In a letter to "Her Majesty", the children begged her to speak out against the religious persecution of Ahmadi Muslims under President Zia's rule.

Following the publication of the story, the local Ahmadi community offered reporter Katherine Fenlaugh a rare opportunity to interview their international leader, who is staying at the London Mosque on the first leg of a world tour.

The freedom to go to church is something most Londoners take for granted.

But religious freedom is very much on the minds of hundreds of local people at the moment.

For they say their relatives in Pakistan are being systematically persecuted for their beliefs.

The Ahmadis were declared non Muslims in an Ordinance issued by President Zia in April, and they are now liable to three years in jail for preaching their beliefs.

The Ordinance has sent shock waves through the Ahmadi community in Britain, which has its headquarters at the London Mosque in Southfields.

And such is the concern of Ahmadi leaders about the situation in Pakistan,

that their supreme leader rescheduled a world tour to take in as many countries as possible.

A stop in England was top of the new agenda, and eight weeks ago, the Khalifatul Masih IV, Mirza Tahir Ahmad arrived in Wandsworth from his base in Rabwah, Pakistan.

Mirza Tahir Ahmad, who is 56, is the fourth Khalifatul Masih — after the founder of the Ahmadi movement, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who died in 1908.

Since his death, the supreme leader has been chosen for life by an electoral college of elders.

Since his arrival in Wandsworth, 700 letters a day have been delivered at the Mosque from all over the world.

And a steady stream of visitors — from as far away as Nigeria, Indonesia, Ghana and America have made a journey there.

But he made time in his busy schedule to talk to me at the Mosque.

We met in a plushly furnished sitting room in the complex of offices and suites standing next to the Mosque itself in Gressenhall Road.

Microphones were set up and the interview was recorded.

"The situation in Pakistan is very ugly," said the Khalifatul Masih. "Human values have been trampled on as never before in the history of legislation."

If an Ahmadi uses the "Azan", his call to prayer, he is said to be preaching, and can be jailed for three years, or fined a limitless amount.

"The Ahmadis have been deprived of the right to declare themselves what they believe in."

But the loss of liberty goes deeper than that he said. For police bring trumped up charges and the "offenders" have no right to bail.

"If the proceedings linger for three years, they will remain behind bars for three years, and then serve a further three years as the sentence."

Imam was framed

That very morning, said Khalifatul Masih, the Mosque had heard from Pakistan how a former Imam of the London Mosque had been framed.

Zahur Ahmad Bajwa, an elder in his seventies, had been charged with kidnapping a mullah, when in fact he and another Ahmadi had caught the mullah redhanded trying to set fire to an Ahmadi house. When his lawyers had arrived at the magistrates court for a bail application, they had been beaten up.

After they had been carried off, the magistrate arrived, and declared there was no application for bail.

But the horrors do not stop there, said the Khalifatul Masih. For the mullahs are running nothing short of an all out persecution of the Ahmadis.

"The mullahs have been given liberty to preach full scale arson and murder. Daily incitements are published in the papers. Readers are told if they murder an Ahmadi they will go to Heaven.

They broadcast their propaganda on the radio and through loudspeakers — but we are not even allowed to use loudspeakers.

Mosques have been burnt under the cover of darkness, and two Ahmadis have been murdered since April", he said.

"And we are not permitted to make our publications — they are proscribed so we cannot even attempt to defend ourselves.

How can they force this on us, when we concede to others the right to believe what they want?

The catalogue of events has been well documented by the Mosque workers — but is there anything that can be done in England?

As far as real help is concerned, I doubt if England can offer anything. Only a little moral pressure can be put on the Government, and Diplomatic answers come in diplomatic language.

My complaint is that in the name of human rights, you take up the cudgel for one single Russian dissident, and never get tired, but a community of four million has been deprived of fundamental rights, and not a voice has been raised".

Reassuring community

"My main purpose here is to reassure the community. It is the community I have mainly in mind, not propaganda — that is a by-product.

The Ahmadi creed is non-violence, and they refuse to carry out reprisals on their persecutors", said the Khalifatul Masih.

"As a religious community, we believe all things are done in the name of Allah.

We believe Allah will look after us and punish the wrong doers. It has always happened in the past.

This is not the first time we have been persecuted, and every time ultimately they got defeated.

Prayer is our main defence.

In Wandsworth Ahmadis are praying five times a day at the Mosque. You can see they're all in pain. They haven't had peace of mind since it happened.

For one thing, they have relatives out there. But also, every Ahmadi is so deeply spiritually connected with each other, that if one suffers, the others simply cannot rest in peace."

And as he finished speaking, one o'clock, the time for prayer, had come and the Ahmadis of Wandsworth gathered in Gressenhall Road to pray for their relatives in Pakistan.

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NEWSWEEK
16th July, 1984

Persecution of a Religious Sect

They are among the most educated people in Pakistan, an elite minority that has included top scientists and statesmen. But the 3 million Pakistani members of the Ahmadiyya sect are now facing a wave of religious persecution. Ahmadis are anathema to the fervently Islamic government of President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq. In April Zia pushed through new laws designed to limit the way Ahmadis practise their particular version of the Muslim religion. Dozens of Ahmadis have been arrested, several of their mosques have been vandalized and one of their leaders has been murdered.

The roots of the conflict go back to 1889, when Ahmadiyya was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the son of a wealthy Punjab landowner. Ahmad declared himself the *Mahdi,* or guide, who the Prophet Muhammad said would one day appear. Ahmad's followers began to proselytize, and the sect now has 10 million members worldwide, the largest group of which is in Pakistan. They live and worship as Muslims; only their belief that Ahmad was the Mahdi separates them from orthodox Islam.

Principles: For traditional Muslims, that is a crucial point. "One of the most fundamental principles in which Muslims must believe is the finality of the holy Prophet Muhammad", says I.A. Imtiazi, secretary of Pakistan's Ministry of Religious and Minority Affairs. "Anybody who claims to be a prophet after the Prophet Muhammad or anybody who believes that claim puts himself outside the pale of Islam."

Pakistan outlawed the Ahmadis in 1974 but did not then actively persecute them. That has now changed dramatically, as NEWSWEEK'S Tony Clifton recently discovered in Islamabad. There, the members of one congregation are barred from calling their place of worship a mosque; they have chosen to call it *Bait-u-Zikar,* or house of sermons. The building is little more than a shell because local orthodox Muslim officials have halted construction. Pakistan has forbidden Ahmadis to print literature about the sect or to employ muezzins to summon the faithful to prayer. Harsh as the laws sound, within Islam they

are not that unusual. Saudi Arabia, for example, has banned the sect completely. "All over the Islamic world, the Ahmadis are considered non-Muslims," says Abdul Wadood Shalaby, a scholar at Cairo's renowned center for theological studies, the Al-Azhar University.

The Pakistani government insists the Ahmadis can change their lot. "If they accepted minority status like all other minority religions in this country they would get the same constitutional protection as the others", says Imtiazi. "What we object to is a non-Islamic religion claiming to be Muslim." The Ahmadis counter that the laws against them are nothing more than an excuse to cover up some of Zia's political aims — including, they say, currying favour with extremist Islamic parties. Says Anwar Ahmad Kahlon, president of the Ahmadis in England, "A political government like President Zia's cannot arbitrarily say whether a religion is right or wrong."

Pressure: So far, the violence against the Ahmadiyya sect has been sporadic, without apparent government direction. But the pressure on them is increasing — and Pakistan's Ahmadis are fearful of what may lie ahead. A recent government pamphlet says that with the introduction of the new laws regarding the Ahmadis, the "problem has entered the last stage toward its final solution." Those words — no matter what the intentions behind them — have an ominous ring that cannot be ignored.

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THE TIMES: London, England
31st May, 1984

New victims of Zia's drive to Islamic fundamentalism

Ahmedi Sect Facing Purge in Pakistan

From our own correspondent

Islamabad — The movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD), which met in Peshwawar on Monday rejected General Zia's election plan and demanded that polls should be held strictly under the suspended constitution of 1973 (Hasan Akhtar writes).

The military government in the North West Frontier province has banned the entry of 14 MRD leaders.

Reinforcing its appeal to Muslim fundamentalists, the martial law regime of President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq is bearing down hard on a little known Muslim sect known as Ahmedis after its founder Mirza Ghulam Ahmed.

They have been banned from calling themselves Muslims, from calling their religion Islam, from using the word *masjid* or mosque to describe their place of worship, and from using various other Muslim words to describe their prayers and practices.

These bans are enforced under an ordinance which threatens them with imprisonment for up to three years and an unlimited fine.

The Muslim mullahs and maulvis in Islamic Pakistan are now encouraged to call for further restrictions on the sect, and the Government has begun compiling a list of Ahmedis in senior government positions. Both the Ahmedis and their tormentors believe that this can only be preliminary to a widespread purge.

The Ahmedis, who are also known as Quaddianis after the birthplace of the founder, now in Indian Punjab, believe him to be another — though lesser — prophet of Islam, also to be the second incarnation of Jesus Christ, and avatar of the Hindus' Krishna. **They are a missionary sect, however, who set out to bring their converts to Islam, belief in one God, His Prophet Muhammad, and the Koran.**

They worship Allah in much the same way as regular Muslims, with prayers five times a day and the faithful summoned to prayer.

The Ahmedis are being careful to keep a low profile at present, fearful that drawing attention to themselves by protests or objections could bring down even worse action against them.

Now that they have been compelled to register as non-Muslims they could face the religious punishment that awaits converts away from Islam: they could be stoned to death.

At the Qaddiani mosque, where the call to prayers is done *mezzo voce* in a busy commercial section of Karachi, the gates are bolted and barred and guarded by two tall young volunteers from the community. Volunteers over 40 do different work clerical, or supervisory, but the under-forties provide some measure of security against the rage of the righteous.

The volunteers, who were anxious not to be identified, spoke fearfully of "the general agitation against our organization", and complained that it was not the business of a government to decide who is a Muslim and who is not.

The present leader of the sect, Imam Mirza Tahir Ahmed, is now in London, where he has been hoping to encourage some expressions of regret at the moves against his followers.

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THE WASHINGTON POST: Washington, USA
17th May, 1984

Pakistan Restricting Sect as Non-Moslem
By William Claiborne — Washington Post Foreign Service
Minority members say 'Rules Generate Hatred'

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, May 16 — Members of the Ahmedia sect, which is considered heretical by Pakistan's mainstream Moslems, are chafing under restrictions imposed by the military government that they fear could encourage a new wave of violent repression that twice has swept the country.

Ahmedis charge that several of their 4 million adherents, in a Pakistani population of more than 80 million, have been killed recently in random attacks.

Fundamentalist Moslem religious leaders, encouraged by an ordinance adopted last month prohibiting members of the Ahmedia sect from calling themselves Moslems or using Islamic terminology, have stepped up their demands for new restrictions.

A recent directive by President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq's martial-law rule ordered provincial governments to compile lists of Ahmedis in key government posts — leading the sect's leaders to conclude that their members will be purged from the civil service, and even that the Islamic fundamentalists' demand for the stoning to death of apostates may be considered.

"By sheer strength of faith we are withstanding this onslaught, but we don't know how long we can keep going", said Mujib Rahman, a lawyer and leader of the Ahmedia community in nearby Rawalpindi, where Zia's military government has its headquarters.

Zia, at a recent Islamic conference here, committed himself to protecting all religious minorities in Pakistan, saying, "We must ensure that the minorities do not feel insecure in a Moslem model state that we intend to establish in Pakistan." However, at another meeting in Lahore, he warned Ahmedis against provoking mainstream Moslems by attempting to preach among them.

Privately, Pakistani officials say that the restrictions were needed to dampen a potentially violent backlash against the Ahmedis. The Ahmedis say the ordinance was politically motivated, and Zia was merely attempting to bolster his popularity among fundamentalist Moslems and broaden his constituency beyond the military in preparation for national elections that he has promised.

However, the practical effect, according to Ahmedis, has been to generate hatred against the sect. They complained that members have been killed randomly throughout the country, that their mosques have been desecrated and bodies of buried Ahmedis have been dug up and thrown from tombs.

An uncompleted mosque here, on which work was stopped by the

government, showed signs of fires which the Ahmedis said were set last Saturday.

Ahmedis are followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, who declared himself a prophet and religious reformer at the end of the 19th century, challenging the traditional Islamic creed that the prophet Mohammed was the last of the prophets.

Also called Qadianis — after the town in what is now the Indian state of Punjab where Ahmed was born — the Ahmedis have long been active in evangelical work in more than 100 countries. They total more than 10 million.

In 1953, anti-Ahmedi riots in Pakistan's Punjab Province led to this country's first provincial imposition of martial law. In 1974, widespread violence against the sect prompted the government of then-prime minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to adopt a constitutional amendment declaring Ahmedis a non-Moslem minority.

Early this year, Islamic fundamentalists revived the movement against the Ahmedis, declaring that if their demands for further restrictions against the sect were not met by April 30, Ahmedi mosques would be attacked and followers of the faith would be singled out for punishment.

The day before an anti-Ahmedi rally held in Rawalpindi by conservative Moslem students on April 27, Zia's government issued the ordinance banning Ahmedis from calling themselves Moslems and from using Islamic terminology or preaching to Moslems. Violators can be given a three-year prison sentence and fine.

The ordinance banned the use by Ahmedis of the term *masjid,* or mosque, and prohibited them from using the *azan,* the traditional call to prayer that is made five times a day from the minarets of mosques.

Moreover, fundamentalist Moslem leaders have demanded that apostasy be punishable by death by stoning, that minarets of Ahmedi mosques be pulled down, that Ahmedis be identified as non-Moslems on identity cards and passports, and that they be prohibited from using traditional Islamic surnames that connote praise to Allah. Pakistan's Council for Islamic ideology said it is considering the demands.

Most have been made by an organization formed shortly after Pakistan's independence and recently revived, called Tahaffuz Khatme Nabuwwat, which is a movement to protect the finality of Mohammed's prophethood.

The Ahmedis, who have a disproportionately high literacy rate and traditionally have been influential in the civil service and armed forces, have refused to accept the new ordinance but have avoided confrontations.

They have stopped using the call to prayer, saying that as long as they can

continue to pray inside the Mosques, the *azan* ritual is not necessary. Since the Ordinance was adopted, they have also ended open evangelical activities in Pakistan and have found substitute words to denote their Mosques.

"We have not accepted the law, but we are not violating it, because it means going to prison. What can we do against the military government?" Rahman asked. Disenfranchised from elections unless they register as non-Moslems, Ahmedis also have not voted in the infrequent local elections.

"Ahmedis will not at any cost call themselves non-Moslems. That would be killing our spirit',, said Rahman, adding that no Ahmedis have yet put the issue to a test when, for example, required to declare their faith for a passport. He said that if confronted with the requirement, he would simply state that under the Ordinance he is prohibited from declaring himself a Moslem.

Ahmedis say students have been denied admission to college because of their faith and that those admitted are threatened with segregated housing. Some communities are said to have launched economic boycotts, refusing to trade with Ahmedis.

"We can't profess our religion and we can't practise it. We can't vote as Moslems and we can't call our people to prayers. Zia holds himself up as the champion of Islam, but he is just creating hysteria against one sect of Islam. What will be next?" asked Rahman.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

18th May, 1984

Pakistan Curbs Minority Sect

By William Claiborne

ZIA LIMITS AHMEDI MOSLEMS' RIGHTS ON CALL BY MULLAHS

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — The human rights record of President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq's military government has come under renewed attack for draconian restrictions placed on an Islamic sect that has four million followers here.

An ordinance adopted last month prohibited members of the Ahmedia sect, which is considered heretical by mainstream Moslems, from calling themselves Moslems and using Islamic terminology.

Fundamentalist religious leaders in Pakistan have stepped up their demands for new restrictions against the sect, raising fears among Ahmedis of a renewal of sectarian violence against them.

A recent directive ordering all provincial government to compile lists of

Ahmedis in key government posts has led the sect's leaders to conclude that their members will be purged from the civil service, and that even the Islamic fundamentalists' demand for the stoning to death of apostates may be considered by General Zia.

"By sheer strength of faith we are withstanding this onslaught, but we don't know how long we can keep going," said Mujib Rahman, a lawyer and leader of the Ahmedia community in Rawalpindi, where General Zia's martial law government is headquartered.

Ahmedis are followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, who declared himself a prophet and religious reformer at the end of the 19th century, challenging the traditional Islamic creed that Mohammed was the last of the prophets.

Also called Qadianis — after the town where Ahmed was born in what is the Indian state of Punjab — the Ahmedis have long been active in evangelical work in more than 100 countries, and number more than 10 million. Although they have been prohibited from propagating their faith in Pakistan, many Moslems here regard them as apostates attempting to subvert Islam from within.

In 1953, anti-Ahmedi riots in Punjab province led to Pakistan's first provincial martial law regime, and in 1974, widespread violence against the sect prompted Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government to adopt a constitional amendment declaring Ahmedis a non-Moslem minority.

Early this year, fundamentalist *mullahs,* or Islamic scholars, revived the movement against the Ahmedis, declaring that if their demands for further restrictions against the sect were not met by April 30, Ahmedi mosques would be attacked and Ahmedis singled out for punishment.

The day before an anti-Ahmedi rally held in Rawalpindi by conservative Moslem students on April 27, the government issued an ordinance banning Ahmedis from calling themselves Moslems and from using Islamic terminology or preaching to Moslems.

Violators can be given a three-year prison sentence and fine.

The ordinance banned the use by Ahmedis of the term *masjid,* or mosque, and prohibited them from using the *azan,* the call to prayer made five times a day from the minarets of mosques.

Moreover, fundamentalist Moslem leaders have demanded, and Pakistan's council for Islamic ideology is considering that apostasy be punishable by death by stoning; that minarets of Ahmedi mosques be pulled down; that Ahmedis be identified as non-Moslems on identity cards and passports, and that they be prohibited from using traditional Islamic surnames that connote praise to Allah.

Most of the demands have been made by an organization formed shortly after Pakistan's independence and recently revived, Tahaffuz Khatme Nabuwwat, whose avowed aim is to protect the finality of Mohammed's prophethood.

The Ahmedis, who have a disproportionately high literacy rate and have traditionally been influential in the civil service and armed forces, have refused to accept the new ordinance, but have also avoided direct conflict with it.

They have stopped using the call to prayer, saying that as long as they can continue to pray inside the mosques the *azan* ritual is not necessary. Since the ordinance was adopted, they have also ended open evangelical activities in Pakistan.

"We have not accepted the law," Mr. Rahman said, "but we are not violating it, because it means going to prison. What can we do against the military government?" Disenfranchised from voting elections unless they register as non-Moslems, Ahmedis also have not balloted during the rare partyless local elections.

General Zia, at a recent Islamic conference in Islamabad, publicly committed himself to protecting all religious minorities in Pakistan, saying, "We must ensure that the minorities do not feel insecure in a Moslem model state that we intend to establish in Pakistan."

However, at another meeting in Lahore, he warned Ahmedis against provoking mainstream Moslems by attempting to preach among them.

Privately, Pakistani officials say that the restrictions were needed to dampen a potentially explosive backlash against the Ahmadis.

The Ahmedis say the ordinance was General Zia's attempt to bolster his popularity among fundamentalist Moslems and broaden his constituency in preparation for national elections he has promised.

However, the practical effect, according to Ahmedis, has been that member of their sect have been killed randomly throughout the country and that their mosques have been desecrated.

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NIGERIAN OBSERVER: Nigeria
Friday 22nd June, 1984

Editorial — Fall of Pakistan to Religious Intolerance

If, according to its Latin derivative, religion means to unite, then the business of uniting man with God and thereby, man with man, is today producing more negative effect causing divisions and disunity in many parts of the world. By

inclination, a religious person is supposed to be peaceful and God-fearing. But not today when, more than ever before, we now find ardent believers in one religion or the other engaged in bloody scuffles.

For instance, Catholics and Protestants in Ireland are still at war with each other. Israelis, not long ago, massacred thousands of Palestinian men, women and children in Sabra and Shatila Refuge Camps in Lebanon. And Muslims, on their part do not seem to have been left behind in the hideous rat race for violence.

It is now more than three years since Iraq and Iran (two muslim countries) engaged themselves in fierce fighting which has resulted in colossal loss of lives and property on both sides.

And as if that was not enough, the Pakistani military ruler, General Zia-ul-Haq, has joined the queue by heavily descending on a virile religious minority called the Ahmadiyya Movement. The persecution of this world-wide Movement in Pakistan has of late reached such an alarming proportion that the world is becoming dismayed. Today, the mere admission by an Ahmadi that he too is a muslim or follower of Islam has become a criminal offence punishable by three years imprisonment plus unspecified fine.

Even for an Ahmadi to preach and practise Islam in the country now carries the same punishment. This unfortunately, is the tragic result of an ordinance just promulgated in Pakistan.

It is perhaps an understatement to describe the trend as the rise of the worst type of fanaticism after Maitatsine. And, like Maitatsine, it deserves worldwide condemnation in all its ramifications.

If Zia-ul-Haq has condescended so low as to dance to the tune of fanatic clergy, he should remember that the very people whose strength he depends upon to rule could be the worst for it.

For, wherever religious fanatics take hold, freedom is wrecked. It's like falling in love with the trigger of an atomic bomb. The result could be bitter, not only socially and culturally, but also politically and diplomatically. Human conscience abhors a situation in which one is imprisoned and tortured for merely naming his religion.

The right of an individual to name his religion, preach, practise and profess it, is entrenched in the charter of the United Nations to which Pakistan is a signatory. All civilised countries grant this right to their citizens, except where the privilege is surreptitiously used against the interest of the state.

Since the promulgation of the Ordinance, some Ahmadis in Pakistan are reported to have been killed, their properties burnt down, homes looted and some mosques, belonging to the Ahmaddiyya community, forcibly seized all in

the so-called service of his own brand of Islam. This has gone just a little too far, more so where such religiously flavoured vandalism enjoys government blessing.

Islam is a religion of peace.

And General Zia will be doing Pakistan a world of good if he keeps it so, rather than capitulate to the infectious temptation of religious intolerance.

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NEW YORK

7th June, 1984

Pakistan Democratic Forum

Persecution of Ahmadiyas

The draconian military ordinance issued against the Ahmadiya community in Pakistan, which makes it a criminal offence for its members to practice their faith, is not only a heinous violation of that community's fundamental right to freedom of religion, but a sinister blow against the democratic aspirations and human rights of the people of Pakistan as a whole. As such, this abominable action of the Zia dictatorship deserves to be condemned by all persons of conscience the world over — above all, by the democratic forces in Pakistan.

Various governments in Pakistan have found the Ahmadiyas a convenient scapegoat to deflect people's attention from the real economic and political problems and to embroil them in fratricidal conflicts. Like the anti-Ahmadiya riots of 1953 and the official designation of the Ahmadiyas as non-Muslim in 1974 — following a government-instigated agitation, the present ordinance is a reflection of the political, moral and ideological bankruptcy of Pakistan's ruling class.

General Zia ul-Haq's military regime, being the most unpopular and isolated one in Pakistan's history, has relied, ever since its inception, on the most backward ideological content, undisguised bigotry and base sentiments in society to provide justification and form a social base for its illegitimate rule. The Zia regime, which has made a virtue of public flogging and hangings under the guise of "Islamization", is methodically seeking to divide the society on the basis of religion and sect by making the religious minorities and smaller Muslim sects special targets of its repression. It has instigated decadent Mullahs and other sectarian zealots to keep the population in a state of perpetual religious strife. However, since this regime is fundamentally a custodian of narrow class and ethnic interests, in addition to foreign imperialist interests, its perverted and inhumane interpretation of Islam has consistently conflicted with the interests and beliefs of the majority Sunni sect as well. Thus, while it has made

the lives of Pakistan's Hindus, Christians, Parsis, Shias, Ahmadis and other minority religions and sects exceedingly insecure on the grounds of religious beliefs, it has subjected the Sunnis as well to an equally and unprecedented brutal oppression on the grounds of class, ethnicity and other factors.

Human rights of the people are truly indivisible. Loss of freedom of any one group abridges the freedom of society as a whole. It is not surprising, therefore, that the forces which are currently spearheading the campaign to persecute the Ahmadis are the same which are in the forefront of the efforts to deny all democratic rights to the people of Pakistan and to persecute the labouring classes and smaller nationalities. The lessons for Pakistan's democratic movement are clear: by remaining silent on the persecution of a religious group, because of fear or prejudice, it cannot serve the cause of democracy. The situation in Pakistan demands that all democratic and progressive forces in the country view the recent anti-Ahmadiya ordinance as an onslaught against the democratic rights of the people as a whole, and speak out unambiguously against this vicious persecution.

It is indeed deplorable that so few voices have, so far, been raised by public figures in Pakistan against this latest round of scapegoatism. Failure to condemn it vigorously will not only be tantamount to a moral betrayal, but will, in fact, weaken the democratic movement. Those who are fearing a backlash against taking a courageous moral stand, simply do not know our people or are belittling their intelligence and their capacity to tolerate religious differences. A movement genuinely rooted in the people and reflecting their real sentiments should have no fear or hesitation to put itself firmly against this gross injustice and flagrant violation of human rights.

Beyond underlining the immediate necessity of maintaining the democratic unity of the people, the recent anti-Ahmadiya measures are a further reminder of the fact that a stable inter-religious or inter-community harmony — an essential ingredient of a long-term social peace — is not possible when a ruling clique becomes the self-appointed guardian of Islam and tries to impose its version on society. It can only be achieved in a secular state which protects the religious freedom of all faiths.

(Press Statement)

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NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

LIFE PATRON
MIAN MAHMOOD ALI KASURI
(BARRISTER AT LAW)

D-28 BLOCK H
NORTH NAZIMABAD
KARACHI-33

President Nafees A. Siddiqui (Advocate)

Press Release

Mr. Ashfaque Ahmad Khan, a former Ambassador of Pakistan and Secretary General National Council of Civil Liberties has issued the following statement to the Press:

It is highly painful to know about the clash between two religious Sects in Lahore which is stated to be in continuation of a previous incident in Badshahi Masjid when the famous Egyptian Qari Abdul Basit Abdul Samad had come there to recite the Holy Quran. Some people were accused of raising very objectionable rather shameful slogans in the presence of Qari Abdul Basit. The same kind of communal frenzy was seen in Karachi where the religious fanatics committed every kind of inhuman excesses against a minor religious community with full conivance of the local Administration.

This indicates the growing influence of obscurantists and fanatics upon those who are vested with the powers of ruling this poor country. Recently the Chief Martial Law Administrator has imposed an Ordinance about another religious minority, Ahmadis. Since the promulgation of this Ordinance, we daily read in the Newspapers that so many Ahmadis have been Islamised and at the same time we hear that so many of them were arrested by the Police for propagating their Faith and forcibly converting Muslamans to Ahmadiat.

Is this the picture of a country claiming to be Dares Salam, the Abode of peace? Is this the second Islamic state in the History, first being the one founded by the Holy Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him?

Have the rulers of this Islamic state completely rejected the Declaration of MADINA which the Holy Prophet himself signed with the different sections of population of the state of Madina? Is it the reality of dreams seen by Allama Iqbal? Or is it the unfortunate result of the great struggle of the Muslims of the sub-continent waged by them under the leadership of Quaid-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah? No sane Pakistani will agree with this situation. It seems that those who grabbed the political power in this country do not want to part with it and for that end they can go to any extent even to plunge the country into a continual battlefield. Islam provided complete protection to all the citizens living in the geographical boundaries of a state ruled by the

Muslims. This protection includes the right of having any Religion or practising any belief and the protection of their place of worship. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan of 1973 prohibits any kind of discrimination on the basis of cast, creed, area or religion. The Ahmadis or any other religious minority as long as they are citizens of Pakistan must enjoy all these rights and protections. No one therefore, individuals, or the state should interfere in practising their faith and their places of worship should be protected in any circumstances.

In the end I appeal to the Muslims at large to follow the teachings of the Holy Prophet, peace be upon him and his descendents in their true spirit as he brought to us the message of peace for the entire mankind. The fundamental rights and civil liberties should not be denied to any one on the basis of factional, sectarian or religious differences. I, however, believe that communal harmony and sectarian peace can only be achieved in a free democratic society established by the people through their own free will.

(Signed) (ASHAFQUE AHMAD KHAN)

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NEW YORK TIMES
14th June, 1984

Our Blind Enthusiasm for Pakistan's Tyrant
By Stuart Schaar

The United States is shoring up a special relationship with an increasingly unpopular military regime in Pakistan. This is a sadly short-sighted policy. Our alliance with Pakistan may in the short term seem to enhance our position in the Indian Ocean, but Gen. Mohammad Zia ul-Haq, who rules by martial law, is becoming more repressive and isolated as internal challenges mount, raising the specter of an eventual uprising to overthrow him.

Until General Zia's coup in 1977, Pakistan's relatively independent judiciary mediated against transgressions of state power. In March 1981, 19 Supreme Court and provincial high court judges refused to endorse an order allowing General Zia to amend the Constitution and effectively abolish the rule of law. His response was to dismiss these and a number of other judges, pack the high courts, and then promulgate the order and outlaw all political parties.

Resistance to the regime intensified last fall. Some 140 protesters were killed and 6,000 arrested, as the dictator moved to suppress this non-violent civil disobedience movement. The country was relatively quiet until spring, when students boycotted classes to protest the banning of their unions and then the arrest of about 100 demonstrating students. A coalition called the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy has demanded free elections and an end to military rule. General Zia countered with a proposal for "nonparty" elections controlled by the Government.

Dissent is also growing within the armed forces. Some 350 dissident officers were interrogated in early January in connection with a plot to assassinate General Zia. The fate of some 40 arrested officers remains unknown. The high command has been reshuffled to give the most important positions to General Zia's friends and relatives.

Like his neighbour, Indira Gandhi of India, General Zia is taking steps against his country's religious minorities. Four million adherents of the Ahmadiyyah,a Moslem sect founded in the 19th century, are being prohibited from practising their religion publicly. Statements by fundamentalist Islamic leaders close to the Government indicate that the small Pakistani Christian community may also be subject to persecution.

Human rights violations have increased markedly as the regime cracks down on growing dissent. One of the victims is Raza Kazim, an internationally renowned lawyer and eloquent advocate of representative government. On Jan. 9, he was forcibly taken from his home in Lahore by armed men in military vehicles. The Government has neither charged him nor responded to a writ of habeas corpus. His family was allowed to see him in early spring, but visits have been discontinued. His health has seriously deteriorated, but the Government has ignored Amnesty International's request that he be examined by a private physician.

In its haste to defend the Zia regime, Washington defended the arrest, claiming that Mr. Kazim was smuggling guns, hashish and precious stones. Ironically, not even the Pakistani Government has supported this charge. The Lawyer's Committee for International Human Rights and Mr. Kazim's son have informed the Administration that it is confusing the distinguished attorney with a common criminal named Rana Kazmi. But State Department officials persist in their preposterous claim.

There is no indication that policy makers in Washington fully understand the implications of their alliance with General Zia's regime. Its callous disregard of human rights can only increase internal opposition. Political parties, women's groups, student unions, landlord and peasant organizations, religious sects and

the military have all challenged the regime's legitimacy. Pakistan has a 1,500 mile border with India, and it shares frontiers with Afghanistan, China, Iran and the Soviet Union. The country's 88 million inhabitants have a long insurrectionary tradition. An uprising would be very bloody and difficult to contain.

What should the United States do? The Administration has proposed $3.2 billion in aid, half of it military assistance. A recent Senate staff report recommends that Congress tie this aid to Pakistan's cessation of nuclear weapons development. Although this is a worthy concern, it has tended to divert attention from the deteriorating political situation. Much more important now would be Congressional action to link aid to Pakistan's human rights record. Washington should also reconsider its foolish stand on the Kazim case: Such blind enthusiasm for a tyrannical ally can only prove self-defeating in the long run. Congress must take decisive action now before the situation worsens.

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VIEWPOINT: Lahore, Pakistan
24th May, 1984

Lahore High Court Bar Association
Bar Rejects Sectarian Move
by Our Reporter

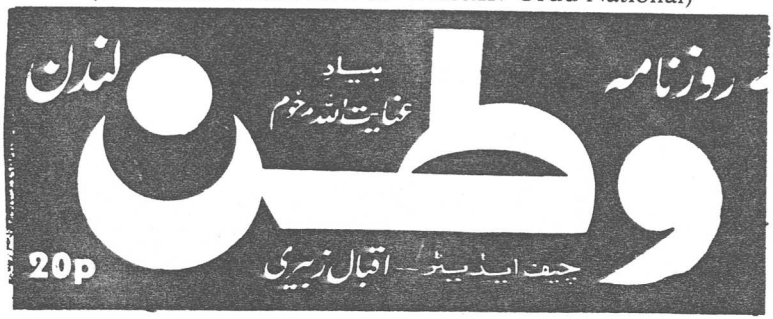
A RESOLUTION commending the Anti-Qadiani Ordinance was defeated by the general house of the Lahore High Court Bar last Thursday.

After the rejection of the resolution, Chaudhry Khalid Mahmood, President of the Bar, told the general body meeting that since the Bar, through an earlier resolution, had said that it did not recognise the de jure position of the present Government, the legal community was not willing to consider any action taken by it. According to him, the mover of the resolution, Dr. Abdul Basit, had promised that he would not table the resolution but during the meeting he came on the dais and tabled it. WHEN PUT TO VOTE, THE RESOLUTION WAS REJECTED 125-12.

DAILY WATAN: London
10th May, 1984

Begum Nasim Wali Khan: Senior Vice President: National Democratic Party

I shall fight for the rights of Ahmadis too
(an exclusive interview to Watan: Urdu National)



جمعرات، ۱۰ مئی ۱۹۸۴ء - ۹ شعبان ۱۴۰۴ھ

میں احمدیوں کے حقوق کے لئے بھی لڑوں گی۔ وطن کو خصوصی انٹرویو

احمدیوں کے بارے میں آرڈیننس کے متعلق بیگم ولی خان نے
کہا کہ حکومت اصل مسائل سے عوام کی توجہ ہٹانا چاہتی ہے انہوں

نے کہا کہ میں احمدیوں کے حقوق کے لئے بھی لڑوں گی اگر وہ سچے
ہی برے ہیں تو حکومت کو پہلے اپنے اعلیٰ مشیروں کو ہٹانا پڑے گا
پھر ڈاکٹر عبدالسلام کے بارے میں کیا فیصلہ ہوگا انہوں نے اس
بات کی تردید کی کہ باچا خاں کسی اہم شخصیت کا پیغام لیکر کابل گئے تھے۔

Translation:

Lahore: With reference to the Ordinance about Ahmadis, Begum Wali Khan stated that the **Government wants to distract the people's attention from the real issues.** She added that she would **fight for the rights of the Ahmadis too:** if they were really so bad, the government would first have to remove its top advisors. Then what decision would be required about Professor Doctor Abdus Salam?

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THE MUSLIM: Islamabad, Pakistan
Thursday 24th May, 1984

Muslims Need to Focus on Vital Issues
By Abbas Rashid

A RECENTLY promulgated ordinance makes it a culpable offence on the part of Qadianis to call themselves Muslims or to maintain mosques or to give the Azan or to propagate their faith. Many a Khutba since then has been devoted to underlining the sagacity and timeliness of this particular move. In response to the president's call even a thanksgiving day was observed to register and highlight the significance of this meritorious service rendered to the cause of Islam. According to Ulama of various shades and denominations a conspiracy against Islam has been frustrated and Muslims saved from being misled. Indeed, it may be so. However, there is never any harm in subjecting our views and decisions to a little self-appraisal. We should remember that only God is infallible and that human beings, particularly when they assume the mantle of righteousness, have some difficulty in arriving at the Truth.

Societies

Societies, no less than the individuals who make them up, need to recognize and confront their weaknesses. Overcoming these, particularly at the social level, is likely to be a process of some duration requiring considerable effort. Some are coterminous with human nature itself. Aggression, for instance, is a deeply rooted human weakness which almost no society has managed to overcome to any significant degree. However, **societies have viewed aggression against an equal or stronger foe differently from aggression against a weaker one. The latter is viewed as the act of a bully or a coward, probably both.** To begin with it is in this context that the action against the Qadianis poses certain problems. **Whatever other higher and unimpeachable motivations may be involved here the action against the Qadianis is also clearly a part of what has become a recurrent and sickeningly familiar pattern in our national psyche and behaviour: bow before the strong and persecute the weak.** It would probably be more appropriate, certainly more graceful to channelise some of our aggressive energy to more deserving adversaries. Fruitful or not, at least it would be an act of courage.

Concepts

What will all of this do to the concept of the Ummah which presupposes a high degree of tolerance for local and national variations in belief and behaviour? Given our preoccupation with theoretical wrangling **it is not at all surprising that Muslims have fought each other with a greater sense of purpose**

and dedication than they have employed against the common enemy. One wishes, for instance, that Iran and Iraq could have fought against Israel with the kind of zeal that they are able to demonstrate against each other. Why is it that we find ourselves entirely enraged on the point of a doctrinal dispute amonst ourselves but can appease our anger at the long drawn Palestinian massacre at the hands of the Israelis with not very much more than a few pedantic statements at some international forum or the other.

Franz Fannon writing about colonized Algeria observed a similar process at work ". . . while the settler or the policeman has the right the livelong day to strike the native, to insult him and to make him crawl to them, you will see the native reaching for his knife at the slightest hostile or aggressive glance cast on him by another native, for the last resort of the native is to defend his personality vis-a-vis his brother." The French surely knew that as long as this state of affairs lasted there was nothing to fear from the Algerian Muslim. **Just as surely the enemies of the Ummah can take heart at our continuing effort to turn the sharp edge of our resolve towards ourselves.**

We have certainly come a long way from the time when Muhammad could enter into a solemn and equal treaty with the Jews of medina and treat them virtually as a part of the Ummah.

Nearer home we have the example of Muhammed Bin Qasim who having conquered Sind decided to entrust the administration, for the most part, to local non-Muslims. At the height of Muslim glory and power during the Ottoman empire some of the highest officials of state were non-Muslims. It is perhaps unfair to cite these precedents. **For they speak of times when Muslims were sure of their faith and sure of themselves. They could afford to be magnanimous. For us, unfortunately, it is much more difficult. We have survived far too long on a steady diet of platitudes, slogans and meaningless hyperbole. When it comes to action we become considerably more tolerant with regard to interpreting Islamic strictures: billions of dollars in high interest loans are accepted without batting an eyelash and that too from a power which makes it possible for Israeli Zionists to exterminate in its neighbourhood Muslim men, women and children with considerable if not clockwork regularity.**

PLS Accounts

Conveniently, the Quranic injunctions against interest are put on the back burner and some reasonably ineffective 'Islamic' measure like the introduction of PLS accounts is adopted. The obligations towards the ummah give way to considerations of realpolitik. The constraints on a small nation-state trying to survive in the 20th century are duly emphasised. There is no all out call for Jihad when the issue of Kashmir is raised there is, instead, an all out debate — mostly

at the United Nations. Paradoxically, therefore, while we ourselves continue to remain operative, in the areas of greatest magnitude, in an expediently secular framework not even remotely anchored in Islamic values we demand of others an adherence to the Islamic code in what we think is its pristine form. A considerable measure of arrogance and audacity must inform such an attitude. And that, perhaps, is the heart of the problem. What we could all do with, for a start, is a little humility. **If we could guage even with a marginal degree of accuracy the depths to which we have sunk we may finally start paying attention to the real problems and challenges that the Muslims of today are faced with instead of further sowing dissension and discord amongst ourselves. Tabligh, after all, is one of the cardinal tenets of our faith.**

We should be living examples of tolerance, equality, justice and all those values which made Islam a moral force on a world scale. **Instead to those outside the fold we present a sorry picture of discrimination, division and dictatorship of the majority.** Surely the Quran envisaged something other than this when it says "Summon men to the way of your Lord wisely and with fair warnings: bring against them a better argument (Sura 16:126). We, however, seem to have no desire to retain even those who may wish to remain amongst us let alone go around summoning others. And what about the credentials of those who seem to be in such haste to rid the community of its membership in order to purify it? Can they even agree amongst themselves as to who is a good Muslim? Of the dozens of top ranking Ulama interviewed by the Munir Enquiry Commission, no two could be found in agreement on this score.

Vastly impressed as we are with their desire to purify Pakistan and its inhabitants, have we bothered to look into the nature of their role during the struggle for Pakistan? Are we really in a position to differentiate between those who branded the Quaid-e-Azam as a Kaffir and those who simply ignored him and his message? **How many of these Ulama and Mujahideen have ever participated in a Jihad to serve the cause of Islam, here or elsewhere?** Is it merely a coincidence that these gentlemen seem to be less worried about our dependency on foreign powers, the rising rate of illiteracy, the poverty and hunger that stalks even our major towns and cities, sickness and falling standards of health, rising heroin addiction, skyrocketing debt-service payments, etc?

No Campaign

To the best of one's knowledge they have never been moved to launch a co-ordinated and rousing campaign against any of these myriad threats to our survival as a humane and civilised Muslim society or, eventually, even our survival as a sovereign nation state. **But surely this is where the real threat to**

Islam comes from. As one after the other Muslim societies fail to develop their sovereignty; become miredina network of dependence and manipulation, the self-styled defenders of the faith become even more strident in their claims. Who do we think we are fooling? But this is being unfair. There are issues which concentrate the minds of our Ulama wonderfully. In the past few months we have had the benefit of their guidance and superior knowledge on many a critical issue. We know now, for instance, that a woman's blood money should be half that of a man, that the Qadianis should not be allowed to give the Azan, that not keeping a beard (only for men) is un-Islamic, etc. This is entirely serious! These are the things we need to concern ourselves with, if Islam is to be saved. For all of us it is, in fact, doubly serious precisely because it's not a joke.

Proposals like these are increasingly finding their way into policy formulations. The pattern of social endeavour is being set. The questions that society will debate and attempt to resolve are being identified. And once again those of us who feel differently about Islam or being a Muslim or being a member of a Muslim society are simply marginalised, sometimes even amused, bystanders. Perhaps the fault is mostly if not entirely ours. We deserve nothing better because we have never struggled to implement that vision of the Islamic ideal which informed the quest for Pakistan. And if we are unmoved at this betrayal, so much the better. **Maybe those who continue to act for us and on our behalf are, in fact, the only ones left with any will and conviction in this society. Good luck to them.**

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THE NEW YORK TIMES

1st June, 1984

Dissension in Pakistan: Power Can't Protect Sect

William K. Stevens

RABWAH, Pakistan — Of all the Indian subcontinent's myriad religious groups, few are considered more influential in the secular world for their size than an energetic, tightly organized group that calls itself the Ahmadiya.

The Ahmadis are adherents of a 100-year-old faith rooted in Islam but modified by Christianity. From their headquarters in this green oasis town of 40,000 people set among stark, craggy peaks jutting up from the surrounding plains of the Pakistani Punjab, the Ahmadis propagate a world view enlivened by a strong tradition of scholarship and learning.

Pakistan's only Nobel Prize winner, the physicist Abdus Salam, is an Ahmadi. So was this country's first Foreign Minister, Sir Chaudhry Zafrullah

Khan, who also became a president of the United Nations General Assembly and a judge of the International Court of Justice. So were, and are, several people who occupy key posts in Pakistan's Government and Army.

The Ahmadis have long angered the mullahs, the orthodox Moslem clergy of this Islamic republic. Bowing to the mullahs, who consider the Ahmadis heretics and an affront to Islam, the military Government of President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq has made it a crime for the group's adherents to preach and profess their faith publicly.

Since the ban took effect in late April, two Ahmadi mosques have been destroyed by mobs, two more have been sealed by the police because Moslems tried to occupy them and the minarets of a fifth have been pulled down.

Mullahs Want Further Action

The mullahs have declared that the Government's action does not go far enough. They want all Ahmadis removed from key posts in the Government.

Much of the conflict stems from the fact that, although the Ahmadis are not strictly Moslems, they seem too closely identified with Islam to suit the Moslem clergy. In Islam, Mohammed is considered the last prophet sent by God, and orthodox Moslems believe that essential truth was established for all time during the Prophet's lifetime.

The Ahmadis largely adhere to Moslem teachings, values and religious practices. They call their places of worship mosques. Their women cover their faces with the burka. They use Moslem religious terms. But they accept the claim of their founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, to be the Messiah, representing the second coming of Christ, who is considered a legitimate prophet by Moslems.

This central belief is anathema to the mullahs.

Moreover, the Ahmadis do not regard essential knowledge as having been discovered for all time, and they actively seek converts all over the world. No census has been taken, but the Ahmadis say they have 10 million adherents.

Estimates say there are three million to six million Ahmadis among Pakistan's 84 million people. There are large concentrations in West Africa and Indonesia, and communities are scattered in Western countries, including the United States.

Preaching is Forbidden

A further point of irritation for the Pakistani mullahs is that the Ahmadis have long had a community in Tel Aviv. Ahmadis point out that it existed long before Israel was created.

Under the ban published in April, the Ahmadis are forbidden to use certain

Islamic terms in worship. They cannot call their places of worship mosques, for example, and the word has been painted over on their facades. It prohibits Ahmadis from preaching or propagating their faith or inviting others to accept the faith "by words either spoken or written or by visible representations."

Ahmadis are also forbidden from doing anything that, the ban says, "in any manner whatsoever outrages the religious feelings of Moslems."

A violation carries a prison term of up to three years and a fine, or both. There is no trial, no recourse to the courts.

Although reviling the ban as a gross violation of human rights, the Ahmadi leadership has decided, in a formal meeting, to obey it.

One leader said the question was "which was less harmful — going along or fighting?"

"They have not yet attacked the fundamentals," he said.

'Peace-Loving Community'

Another Ahmadi leader said the group was "a highly peace-loving community" and highly patriotic as well. He said Ahmadis had made sacrifices for the creation of Pakistan and would "continue to make every sacrifice for it."

The first sacrifice came in 1947, when the Ahmadis were forced to flee from Qadian, the town where Mirza Ahmad proclaimed his mission in 1882 and the community was formally founded in 1889. Qadian, still considered the spiritual home of the Ahmadis, is now in what is the Indian state of Punjab, about 160 miles east of Rabwah.

Along with Punjab's Moslems, the Ahmadis fled to Pakistan after the partition of India.

For the last generation, they have flourished in this town 85 miles west of Lahore that they created out of desert. Now their new homeland, they feel, threatens them once more.

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DAWN: Karachi

7th May, 1984

Wali Khan Warns of Revolution

He said the Government was exploiting Islam to prolong its life, and added that there was neither politics nor Islam: "There is only Martial Law."

Earlier, Mr Jamal Khattak, President of the District Bar, welcoming Mr Wali, said that the Bar platform was available to leaders who believed in democratic norms.

ADRESSEAVISEN: Norway
22nd June, 1984

Sikkert At Overgrep Skjer
Amnesty Har Rapporter Om Rundjuling Og Drap
Finn Langeland

— Det er grunnlag for a hevde at ahmadiene blir utsatt for overgrep i dagens Pakistan. Men forelopig har vi ikke tilstrekkelig med dokumentasjon til a kunne si at myndighetene i landet star bak trakasseringen som finner sted.

Dette sier Isabel Jaques ved Amnesty Internationals hovedkontor i London til Adresseavisen. Hun er tilknyttet "Asia-desken" i menneskerettighetsorganisasjonen og samler i disse dager informasjon fra flere uavhengige kilder om situasjonen i Pakistan.

— Det var for ti ar siden at de ca. fire millioner ahmadiene — gjennom et tillegg til konstitusjonen — mistet retten til a kalle seg muslimer. Men — i slutten av april i ar kom det en ny lov, der ahmadiene blant annet uttrykkelig forbys all bruk av muslimsk terminologi.

— Lovens strafferamme er inntil tre ars fengsel, ogsa for slike "forbrytelser" som a propagandere for sin tro, forteller, Isabel Jaques. Hun finner det ikke problematisk a betrakte fengslede pa dette grunnlag som samvittighetsfanger.

— Amnesty International har blant annet mottatt rapporter om ahmadier som er blitt rundjult pa gaten uten at myndighetene har grepet inn mot det som har foregatt. Vi har ogsa et par ikke-detaljerte rapporter om drap i var varetekt, men mye star fortsatt igjen a bringe klarhet i. Vi vet ikke hvem som har utfort drapene og i hvor stor grad utenforliggende, ikke-religiose forhold kan ha virket inn.

— Med det materiale som na foreligger, kan vi ikke utvetydig sla fast at regjeringen i Pakistan star bak forfolgelsen av ahmadiene. Men jeg vil si at myndighetene — gjennom de skjerpede lovbestemmelsene — har fremskaffet den sammenheng som gjor det mulig for islamske fundamentalister a opptre brutalt. Det er neppe tvil om at enkelte grupper i landet foler at de nærmest er gitt lisens til a utove vold.

Nar Amnestys hovedkontor i London na har ahmadienes sak til behandling, skyldes det blant annet at Als norske avdeling har oversendt materiale om situasjonen for ahmadiene. Isabel Jaques er ansvarlig for innhenting av ytterligere dokumentasjon om tingenes tilstand, et tid- og resurrskrevende arbeide, som altsa enna ikke er ferdig. Vi lover a komme tilbake til saken nar Amnesty International har trukket sine konklusjoner.

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Translation

AHMADIES DEFINITELY VICTIMS OF INJUSTICE AMNESTY HAS RECEIVED REPORTS OF CRUELTIES AND ASSASSINATIONS.

"The cases of Tyranny on Ahmadies have been established in Pakistan but at the moment we cannot declare for certain if the Pakistan Government is involved in it." Says Miss Isabel Jaques of London Amnesty International. Asian Desk Miss Jaques is collecting information from different independent sources regarding the human right situation in Pakistan. Ten years before about four million Ahmadies were deprived of their rights to call themselves Muslims according to an amendment in the constitution. But this year in April, a new Ordinance was issued according to which the Ahmadies were forbidden to use any Islamic terminology or propagate their faith, failure to which shall result in THREE YEARS imprisonment. Those arrested on this charge are called 'Prisoners of conscience'. The Amnesty International have received reports that the Ahmadies were assaulted in public but the authorities took no notice of that. Some cases of assassination have also been recorded but the details have not yet been established as to who did that and whether it was the result of religious prejudice. The element so far collected does not show if the Government is involved but this has definitely incited the fanatics to violence. There is no doubt that certain Sects are now beginning to believe that they are given a free hand to assault the Ahmadis. The Norwegian Amnesty Branch have supplied the London Amnesty with some information about the Ahmadies and Miss Isabel Jaques is appointed to collect more about it which is rather an irksome and lengthy process. The day the Amnesty International reach a definite conclusion — we shall report further.

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ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA

15th July, 1984

The Ahmediyas Persecuted

K.N. Sud

Pakistan's Ahmediyas — a beleaguered community — have finally had to bow to General Zia-ul Haq's might. An ordinance issued recently by President Zia prohibits them from using the name of Islam in their preachings, and giving the traditional call for prayers. Further, the Pakistan

government is reported to be purging Ahmediyas from important government and semi-government posts.

What is the reason for this ostracism? Who are the Ahmadiya and why have they incurred the wrath of orthodox Muslims in Pakistan? K N Sud reports.

There were widespread anti-Ahmediya riots in Pakistan in 1953 and 1974 in which nearly 100 members of the sect were killed and many more wounded. Ahmediyas' property worth crores of rupees was looted and destroyed. After the second holocaust which occurred during Z Butto's rule, Pakistan's National Assembly passed a resolution declaring the Ahmediyas a non-Muslim minority. Not satisfied with this, the Islamic fundamentalists there have been pressing the authorities to take more stringent measures against the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908) who claimed that God had made revelations to him and that he was the Promised Messiah and Mahdi, whose advent had been predicted by Islam, Judaism and Christianity. This angered the orthodox Muslims who believed in the finality of Prophet Mohammad. They said the Mirza was an imposter.

The Zia Government also promulgated an ordinance in April this year, forbidding the Ahmediyas from using Islamic terms and practices. They cannot, for example, call their places of worship masjids, say *azan* (summons to prayer), greet anybody with *Islamalaikam,* describe Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as a prophet or present themselves as Muslims in any other manner. The Pakistan penal code has been amended to prescribe a punishment of three years' imprisonment or fine or both, for violation of the law.

The fundamentalists are now demanding that members of the sect, estimated at four million in that country, should be removed from all key posts in the government, their mosques closed and their passports specifically mention that they are non-Muslims. The Ahmediyas are already barred from visiting Mecca and Madina for Haj.

The Ahmediyas in India, from where the sect originated, and those in other countries, fear that there would be a fresh wave of rioting against their co-religionists in Pakistan. Stray killings and attacks on Ahmediya shrines and houses have already started, according to reports received from there. A representation signed by Ahmediya organisations the world over has been submitted to the United Nations Human Rights Commission protesting against Islamabad's denial of basic human rights to the community. Another representation has been made to Mrs Indira Gandhi, urging her to use her influence for saving members of the sect in Pakistan.

The memorandum to the Human Rights Commission says: 'Unfortunately, in the unstable political situation in Pakistan where there is no democratic rule,

members of the Ahmediya movement are treated as a convenient peg to hang all the misdeeds and ills of the present Pakistani administration on. Each political party has been inciting mass public opinion against the Ahmediyas to divert the attention of the people from its corrupt role which has been exposed by the present military regime for its own ulterior motives.'

That there is politics behind the tirade against the Ahmediyas is borne out by the report of the Justice Munir Commission which inquired into the 1953 disturbances when Pakistan was enjoying one of its all-too-brief 'democratic' spells. The Commission said: 'We are prompted by something that they call a human conscience to enquire whether, in our present state of political development, the administrative problem of law and order cannot be divorced from a democratic bedfellow called a ministerial government, which is so remorselessly haunted by political nightmares. But if democracy means the subordination of law and order to political ends, then Allah knoweth best.' Can Admediyas, or anybody for that matter, expect that the dictatorial military regime will view the law and order problem in a better light?

Islamic fundamentalists have now started alleging that the Ahmediyas are working against Pakistan's national interest. They are being accused of assisting Israel in its fight against its Arab neighbours. Even the breakup of the country in 1971, leading to declaration of independence by Bangladesh is being blamed on the Ahmediyas.

Ahmediya leaders say that theirs is a peace-loving, law-abiding community, working for the social, religious, educational and moral uplift of mankind in general and the Muslims in particular. "Our motto is love for all, hatred for none", declared Mirza Tahir Ahmad on his induction as the fourth (present) Ahmediya Khalifa. Chaudhary Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's first foreign minister and an avowed Ahmediya, says, "The message of Ahmediyyat to this age is, in one word, reconciliation, a reconciliation between the various factors in human life which leads to discord, and to all that has made life restless and peaceless."

Who are the Ahmediyas? Why have other Muslims fallen foul of them?

The Ahmediya movement was started in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad with its permanent headquarters at Qadian in Gurdaspur district of Punjab. Qadian is 36 miles from Amritsar and has a population of 18,000 of whom 2,000 are Ahmediyas.

The total world population of Ahmediyas is estimated at more than 10 million, of whom nearly four million are in Pakistan, mainly in Sialkot, Gujarat, Lyalpur and Gujranwala. Rabwah in Jhang district is the new seat of the Ahmediya Khalifa, the supreme spiritual head of the community. It is

situated on the banks of the Chenab. Before partition, it was a barren rocky terrain and was purchased from the Pakistan government by the second Khalifa. Now it has a population of 25,000 and is linked by rail and road with the important cities of Pakistan.

The Ahmediyas in India number three to four lakhs. Besides Qadian, they are concentrated in Kashmir, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. Qadian, of course, has a special place in their hearts. Before partition, almost the whole town was owned by them.

Well-placed Ahmediyas settled at Qadian after retirement. A few small industries flourished in the town. Nearly 500 labourers came there daily from outside.

The place was free from communal tension until 1947 when it came under repeated attacks by non-Muslims from nearby villages. But due to the personal interest taken by Jawaharlal Nehru, the Ahmediya residents, including their Khalifa, were able to cross over to Pakistan safely under military escort. The border is only about 30 kms away. However, 313 able-bodied men stayed behind to look after the Anjuman's work in India. This number has a special significance for Ahmadiyas. Their prophet had 313 followers at a critical stage in his life.

After passions had subsided, the government of India allowed the return of Ahmediya families who had stayed behind. Most of the property of the Anjuman was restored to it. Ahmediyas from all over India gather at Qadian for their annual conference in December. Such gathering earlier attracted more than 100,000 people. Many came from other countries. Among the regular visitors from abroad was Chaudhary Zafrullah Khan.

The Sadr Anjuman Ahmediya has a board of directors appointed by the Khalifa. It has several departments headed by secretaries to look after its various activities. While the Khalifa is chosen for life, the secretaries are elected for a three-year term by an electoral college composed of representatives of associations of Ahmediyas all over the world. All disputes are settled by the local head of the community.

The main plank of the Anjuman's programme is *tabligh* (preaching of Islam). "Conversion must be brought about", says Moulvi Bashir Ahmad, secretary for missionary work, "by argument, example and strength of character as has been ordained by our prophet." The Anjuman has set up an extensive missionary network in countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and America. There are about 150 Ahmediya missions, 700 mosques, 180 educational institutions and 28 medical centres outside the Indian sub-

continent. England has about 30,000 Ahmediya residents, three mosques and seven missions.

In addition to the compulsory levy of one-tenth of the income, each Ahmediya household is expected to pay a minimum of Rs 10 per year for the Anjuman's missionary work. A fund has been set up for celebrating in 1989 the centenary of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's proclamation of his prophethood.

The Ahmediyas foresee a great future for themselves, provided the world is spared the horrors of a nuclear war. Their founder had prophesied that in due course all mankind would be converted to Ahmediyyat. "God the Excellent has told me again and again", he declared, "that He will grant me great glory and will instil my love into the hearts of people. He will cause my movement to spread in the entire world and make my sect supreme over all other sects . . . Many obstacles will be encountered and many trials will come but God will remove all of them from the way and fulfil His promise. He spoke to me saying, 'I will shower blessings after blessings upon you, so much so that kings and heads of state will seek blessing from thy clothing.' So, O ye who remember these words and keep these prophecies secure in your boxes, for it is the Word of God which must one day come to pass."

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ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA
15th July, 1984

The Zia Connection

Is there any credence to the rumour that Zia-ul Haq is himself an Ahmediya?

'Give a dog a bad name and hang him' is a well-known saying. Some opponents of General Zia-ul Haq recently started a whispering campaign that he is an Ahmediya. The rumour got credence from the fact that the Pakistani dictator came from Jalandhar which is quite close to Qadian, the birth place of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and world headquarters of the Ahmediya movement.

General Zia had to deny the accusation vehemently. It is surmised that he promulgated the latest ordinance barring Ahmediyas from using Islamic terms and practices mainly to establish that he does not belong to this sect. Had the charge stuck, Zia would certainly have been made to relinquish office. A non-Muslim cannot be the head of state in Pakistan. And Ahmediyas were classified as non-Muslims by the country's National Assembly in 1974. Orthodox Muslims in Pakistan are, in fact, demanding that Ahmediyas must be removed from all senior positions in the government.

Ironically, the best known Pakistani in the world is an avowed Ahmediya. He is nonagenarian Chaudhary Zafrullah Khan (b 1893), Pakistani's first foreign minister. For many years he represented his country at international forums and was President of the United Nations General Assembly for its 17th session. He served as Judge of the International Court of Justice at The Hague for two terms and retired as its President. He had to flee Pakistan in the wake of the 1974 anti-Ahmediya riots and has stayed in England until recently.

Another eminent Pakistani, Abdus Salam who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1979, is an Ahmediya. He was scientific adviser to the Pakistani President until 1974 when he quit the post and the country. After announcement of the award of Nobel Prize, Abdus Salam was invited by General Zia to visit his homeland. When he went there, he was booed and ridiculed by the fundamentalists.

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VIEWPOINT: Lahore, Pakistan

7th June, 1984

One Sided

By Meem Sheen, Lahore

As an old journalist, who has been on the reporting staff of some of the leading Urdu and English newspapers in the sub-continent, before and after independence, I am, indeed amazed at the one-sided reporting in the national press against the Ahmadis. Alright, the Ahmadis have been declared constitutionally to be Non Muslims and have recently been debarred from calling the 'Azan' and their place of worship as 'Masjid', but they have not ceased to be citizens of Pakistan. Even the worst criminal in the eyes of the law is entitled to his defence in court. The press in Pakistan, as a whole, has denied the Ahmadis the right of reply. This further injures the credibility of the already muzzled press of Pakistan.

It seems to me that just as anti-Semitism paved the way for Nazism before world war II, with all its implications for international peace, in Pakistan Qadiani-baiting is paving the way for mullahcracy with its deadly threat to the pristine beauty of Islam. As Allama Iqbal put it so clearly: 'Deen-i-Mullah fi sabeel Allah fasad'.

JANG: Lahore
8th May, 1984

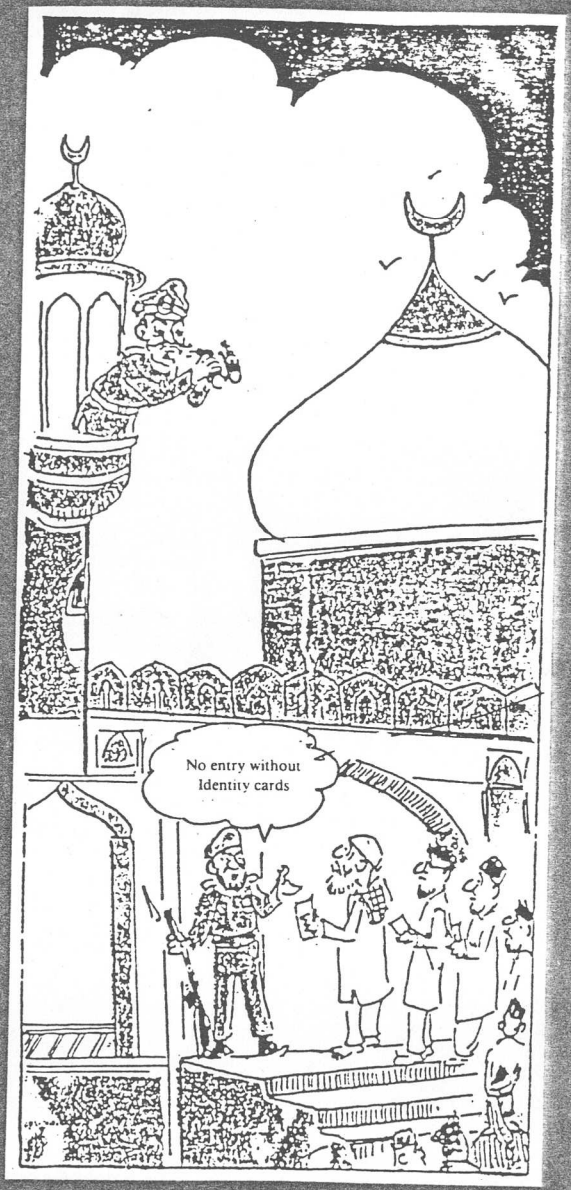
قادیانیوں کے بارے میں جاری کئے گئے آرڈیننس
پر دادا امیر حیدر اور مرزا عبدالعزیز کی تنقید

راولپنڈی (نمائندہ جنگ) برصغیر کے نامور سوشلسٹ لیڈر دادا امیر حیدر اور مرزا عبدالعزیز ایڈووکیٹ نے قادیانیوں کے بارے میں جاری کئے گئے آرڈیننس پر تنقید کرتے ہوئے کہا کہ یہ آرڈیننس دباؤ کے تحت جاری کیا گیا ہے، جسکا مقصد عوام کی توجہ اصل مسائل سے ہٹا کر فرقہ پرستی کو اچھالنا اور پاپائیت کو مسلط کرنا ہے، انہوں نے کہا کہ پاکستان کے خطہ میں سیکولرازم اور رواداری کو اہمیت دی گئی تھی، لیکن اسکے برعکس ملک کو بتدریج فرقہ پرستی اور تنگ نظری کی طرف دھکیل دیا گیا ہے، انہوں نے کہا کہ ملک کے بنیادی مسائل منصفانہ انتخابات بے روزگاری و مہنگائی کا خاتمہ رشوت اور افسر شاہی جیسی لعنتوں سے عوام کو نجات دلانا ہے۔

Translation

Dada Amir Haider and Mirza Abdul Aziz Criticised the Ordinance Promulgated Against Qadianis

Rawalpindi (Jang Correspondent). The renowned socialist leaders of the Sub-continent Dada Amir Haider and Mirza Abdul Aziz Advocate, criticising the ordinance against Qadianis stated that the ordinance was promulgated under pressure and its purpose was to divert the attention of the people from the real issues, and to create sectarian discord and religious fanaticism. They further stated that in Pakistan emphasis was made on Tolerance and secularism but now the country is gradually pushed towards sectarianism and narrow mindedness. They suggested that the basic problems of the country should be solved ie. fair elections should be conducted, and there should be an end to unemployment, rising prices, corruption and red tape in Government offices.



Translation:

Ahmadies are banned from the Mosques in Pakistan.
Muslims will be required to produce identity cards to enter Mosques for prayers.

Cartoon by courtesy of the monthly "Beesween Saddi" —New Delhi May '84 Edition.